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# THE TERESH, THE ETRUSCANS AND ASIA MINOR

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN ANTIQUITY THE opinion was strongly held that the Etruscans came from Asia Minor, and in modern times their many connections with that country have long been self-evident.

There have been three theories about their origin ; the oriental, the northern and the autochthonous.<sup>1</sup> Of these even Pallottino, who favours the autochthonous theory, says that the oriental is the best known and the most widely accepted, though he rejects it on the ground that there is little evidence for a settlement in central Italy in the Bronze Age. Then, though he mentions the Teresh of the Egyptian monuments and the probability of the identity of that name with that of the Tyrsenoi, he passes on to a discussion of the Orientalising civilisation of the 8th and 7th centuries.<sup>2</sup> In the same way Brandenstein discusses Herodotus' account of Tyrsenos and other similar records and the Turuscha (Teresh), yet later on uses the alphabet, the Urartian connections, etc., as evidence for the oriental origin of the Etruscans.<sup>3</sup> But these of course belong to the 8th and 7th centuries not to the time of Tyrsenos and the Teresh.

This article is not concerned with the northern and autochthonous theories, but only to show that at the time of the Teresh there was much migration and that there was in fact much influence in Italy from the east. It goes on to show that in reporting the famine in Lydia which caused the Tyrsenoi to emigrate Herodotus was recording the conditions at the time of the Teresh migrations.

Egyptologists and also Etruscologists have appreciated that the Teresh, or Tursha as they have been more commonly known, must somehow have been the Tyrsenoi, but the dates were all wrong, and it has been left at that.<sup>4</sup> Students have always been aware of the appearance

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<sup>1</sup> Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (Penguin Series) pp. 49 ff., where the questions are fully discussed, with a sufficient bibliography on p. 72. Bérard also names the three theories and accepts the oriental one (*La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité* (1957) p. 499). Similarly after dealing with the literary evidence Burn considers that "the theory of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans may . . . be taken as proved" (*Minoans, Philistines and Greeks* (1930) pp. 60 ff., 240 ff.) ; so also Brandenstein, *Die Herkunft der Etrusker* p. 12 (*Der Alte Orient* XXXV (1937)), and Conway in *CAH*. IV, pp. 388 ff. Altheim (*Der Ursprung der Etrusker* (1950) p. 7) says the question has been so fully discussed that a new treatment is unnecessary. He also gives some examples of useful references.

<sup>2</sup> Pallottino, *op. cit.* pp. 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Brandenstein, *op. cit.* pp. 7-12, 22 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For example, von Bissing (*WZKM*. XXXIV, 1927, p. 255) says that it has become almost the common property of science that the two names are the one and the same. He suggests that it would have been some later Tyrsenoi who invaded Italy (p. 257). Then in the next volume of the periodical he concludes that an immigration of Etruscans at the end of the second millenium is at the least extremely improbable and that after two defeats in Egypt the Teresh would hardly have had the power to appear in Italy as colonisers (*WZKM*. XXXV, 1928, pp. 177 f., 187). Apropos of this another suggestion is made on p. 200.

in the 8th and 7th centuries of what we recognise as "Etruscan".<sup>1</sup> Yet there were always the Teresh in the background with their name so like that by which the Etruscans called themselves and were known to other people—Tyrsenoi, Turs-ko,<sup>2</sup> Tusci, Etruscans<sup>3</sup>—and they belonged to the 13th and 12th centuries, which made it all very confusing.<sup>4</sup>

Now at last archaeology and excavation are doing much to clarify what has hitherto been a very troublesome question and to substantiate the belief that the Teresh indeed played a major part among the ancestors of the people we know as the Etruscans.<sup>5</sup>

In this article it is proposed to show that there were at least two migrations into Etruria, and that they must be sharply distinguished the one from the other. While the features of the Etruscan civilisation which came from the east in the 8th to 7th centuries have always been recognised, sufficient attention has not been paid to the scraps that survived from earlier times. It has been the failure to distinguish the two movements which has caused the confusion and feeling of frustration. In the following pages much evidence is brought to show that the Teresh who attacked Egypt in the 13th and 12th centuries were indeed Etruscans and came from Asia Minor, as did the later people. The Teresh came from Lydia and the later people from Armenia.

An appendix is added recording a certain number of things of high antiquity which reappear in the Etruscan civilisation of historic times.

Migrations had been in progress from before Merneptah's time, for already under Ramesses II, his predecessor, we have evidence of both the Teresh and certain Meshwesh, of the latter of whom more later on (p. 207).<sup>6</sup> A man by the name of *In-n-Teresh* "Support of the Teresh"

<sup>1</sup> In the *Revue des études anciennes* LI (1949), pp. 201–218, Bérard combats the idea that the orientalising civilisation of the 8th to 7th centuries represents the arrival of the Etruscans in Italy. He carries this back to Trojan times. In his *Colonisation grecque, etc.* (1957) p. 502, he speaks of this civilisation as a "renaissance" not a "naissance". On p. 207 of the former article he says that Pallottino finds evidence that the Etruscan language would have been established in Italy at the beginning of the first millennium if not already at the end of the second.

<sup>2</sup> As the name appears on the Tables of Iguvium, Conway, *CAH.* IV, p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus I, 94, says that they changed their name from Lydians to Tyrsenoi, and this they are supposed to have taken from a town in Lydia by the name of Tyrsa, which, however, is only known through a very late statement that Gyges came from there. All this is discussed in detail by Schachermeyr, *Etruskische Frühgeschichte* pp. 283–290. However, there was the name Rasenna by which they, or perhaps some of their aristocracy, called themselves. But this is late, Brandenstein, *op. cit.* pp. 20–2, where the question is fully discussed.

<sup>4</sup> Brugsch identified the Turisa, as he transcribes the name, with the Greek Tyrsenoi and also with the Hebrew Tiras (H. Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften* (1858) II, p. 83) as does Max Müller (*Asien und Europa* p. 382). de Rougé definitely decided for the Tursce-Tyrrhenians on p. 39 of his article on the Mediterranean peoples in *Rev. arch.* XVI (1867), pp. 35–45.

<sup>5</sup> Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* pp. 44, 229, 230, thinks of the Turusa as Tyrsenoi-Etruscans and as living in Asia Minor. But he gets into difficulties because he thinks there is no evidence for Etruscans in Italy before the beginning of the 10th century, and the attack on Merneptah was some 250 years earlier than that.

<sup>6</sup> For the Meshwesh as soldiers under Ramesses II, see p. 207, note 3 *infra*.

was one of the foreign colony living at Gurob beside the Fayyum where he had secured sufficient wealth to have himself buried in a handsome coffin. This coffin was of the type usual at that time, thus showing him to have become so completely Egyptianised as to have adopted the customs and religion of his new country and to have entrusted his future to the Egyptian gods. In-n-Teresh would have been living under Ramesses II when the settlement was flourishing, for after him the history of the place suddenly stops.<sup>1</sup> Others of the Sea Peoples like the Sherden-Shardana were on the move continuously for a couple of hundred years, and the Luka-Lycians for nearly as long.<sup>2</sup> The Trojan War was only one episode in these long drawn out convulsions, and the effects on the West were condensed by Virgil into his romance of the exploits of Aeneas.

The Etruscans themselves looked back far beyond the period of the 8th and 7th centuries, which are commonly recognized as the beginning of their civilisation. They reckoned their history by *saecula*, the ninth of which came to an end in 44 B.C. As these *saecula* varied in length between 100 and 123 years<sup>3</sup> this would throw back the beginning to something between 944 and 1151 B.C., or as Bérard puts it, to the middle of the 11th century,<sup>4</sup> which is approaching the date of 1162-1159 B.C. when we last hear of the Teresh under Ramesses III. Anyhow, the beginning of the *saecula* must have referred to some significant moment in Etruscan history, such as perhaps an arrival in force, a definite conquest, or, and perhaps more probably, the consolidation of the various tribes into a recognisable entity. Such a consolidation of course would have taken time.

Apropos of the possible beginning of the *saecula* as early as the middle of the 11th century, or perhaps even earlier, it is probably worth noting that contrary to the strength of the Teresh in the attack on Merneptah they were not sufficiently important in those on Ramesses III for him to mention them by name. He only shows their chief among his captives

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* Pl. XIX and pp. 36, 38, 40. For the history of the settlement see p. 33. Moret thinks that a damaged name on a stela of Seti I might perhaps be restored as Teresh (*Revue de l'Égypte ancienne* I (1927), p. 18). But this is improbable.

<sup>2</sup> This is all set out in my article in *JEA*. XXV (1939), pp. 148-153, especially p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> K. O. Müller (*Die Etrusker* (edn. Deecke, 1877) II, p. 310) would put the length of a *saeculum* to something between 105 and 123 years. Norton shows that the *saecula* varied between 100 and 123 years (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edn.), s.v. *Etruria*, p. 856). Thulin would allow about 120 years to a *saeculum* (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Etrusca Disciplina*, col. 727). Carter brings evidence to show that the period would have been 110 years (Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon d. Griech. und Röm. Mythologie*, s.v. *Proserpina*, *Die Ludi Saeculares*, col. 3147). Conway gives a short account of the varying statements of the classical authors on which calculations have to be based (*CAH*. IV, pp. 388 f.). Herbig calculates that the system began in 967 B.C. (*Kleinasiatisch-Etruskische Namensgleichungen* [Sitzungsb. K. Bayerischen Ak. Wiss. Phil. hist. Klasse 1914, Abhandl. 2] p. 37). Bérard works out the beginning of the *saecula* to the middle of the 11th century B.C. (*Revue des études anciennes* LI (1949), p. 215, note 1).

<sup>4</sup> Schachermeyr, op. cit. p. 87, note 1, gives a list of those who think of the Etruscans as having come from Asia Minor and the dates they assign to their arrival in Italy. The earliest are c. 1050 B.C. and the 11th century.

along with the chiefs of the Shekelesh and others<sup>1</sup> and he had contingents of either Teresh or Shekelesh in his army.<sup>2</sup> Does not all this suggest that their main endeavour was this time diverted to Italy which experience had probably shown to have been an easier proposition?

We start our inquiry with the most definite of the statements made by the classical authors about the origin of the Etruscans, that of Herodotus in Bk. I, 94. There he says that the Lydians had to send away a colony. The people had endured severe famine for eighteen years, after which a portion of them had to emigrate in search of food and land. They sailed from Smyrna under the leadership of the king's son Tyrsenos, passed many lands, and in due time reached the land of the Ombrikoï, where they changed their name from Lydians to Tyrsenoi.

Until recently there had been no means of verifying the details of this account or the time to which it referred. It was naturally supposed to have referred to the 8th and 7th centuries when we begin to find things which we recognise as "Etruscan", and indeed there is much oriental influence observable there. On the other hand, there has always been the question of the Teresh-Tursha of some five hundred years earlier. However, Bérard has now shown that Tyrrhenos-Tyrsenos would have been living before the first half of the 12th century.<sup>3</sup> This of course was the time of Merneptah and of Ramesses III, who tell us of the Teresh.

The Teresh-Tursha came to Egypt twice, and it is worth remarking that these two appearances, at an interval of two generations, would tend to show that if the Teresh were the Tyrsenoi, the settlement in Italy would have been a gradual and long drawn-out affair. On the first occasion that the Teresh came they attacked from the west in alliance with the Libyans and the Meshwesh,<sup>4</sup> coming into conflict with Merneptah in c. 1219 B.C. On the second occasion it was Ramesses III who evidently suffered from them in one or other of his three wars in his fifth, eighth or eleventh years, i.e. c. 1165, 1162 or 1159 B.C.<sup>5</sup> This time they did not come with the Libyans and the Meshwesh from the west, but evidently

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* III, Pl. 209b, TERESH no. 6, SHEKELESH no. 5 = Breasted, op. cit. IV, §129. The figure no. 5 would not have been labelled *Shasu* as the damaged inscription is often completed (for instance, Breasted, loc. cit.), but *Shekelesh* as others take it to be. Lepsius thought he recognised the Sea Peoples' kilt in the picture. Certainly the hairdressing is the same as that of the Teresh, and the man's medallion is often shown on unmistakable pictures of Sea Peoples. The difficulty is that there is not room in the damaged space at the end of the inscription for so long a name as Shekelesh.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson and others, *Medinet Habu* I, Pls. 17, 18, 35 and probably Pl. 31, where the tops of some of the headdresses still remain visible. In each plate they appear in the bottom register. It is difficult to distinguish between the two peoples, for they make a pair being dressed in identical fashion.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue des études anciennes* LI (1949), pp. 213, 214.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III, TERESH, §§574, 588, 601; LIBYANS, §§574, 588, 601 and often; MESHWESH, §§580, 589, 608 and often.

<sup>5</sup> The dates are derived from Rowton in *JEA.* XXXIV (1948), pp. 61 ff. See especially pp. 72 f. where he answers possible objections to so low a dating. His date of 1290 B.C. for the accession of Ramesses II has now been confirmed by a lunar date calculated by Parker in *JNES.* XVI (1957), p. 43. This of course carries the rest with it.

with the Shekelesh, Sherden, Philistines, Zakkal and Dainiuna-Denyen from the north.<sup>1</sup> Like the Sherden, the Teresh are not mentioned in Ramesses III's inscriptions, but both appear in his row of pictures of conquered peoples and, as has just been said, he employed a number of them in his army.<sup>2</sup>

The Shekelesh and Sherden clearly gave their names to Sicily and Sardinia and the Teresh evidently did so to Etruria, and seeing that they all came against Merneptah with the Libyans from the west it used to be vaguely supposed that they came *from* these western lands. Actually, however, these peoples were on their way *to* their new homes.<sup>3</sup>

Another people who accompanied the Libyans and the Meshwesh against Merneptah were the Ekḫwesh-Aḳaiwash,<sup>4</sup> who are regularly accepted as Achaeans of some sort.<sup>5</sup> They only came this once and never again. They are the only ones of all these peoples whom Merneptah describes as being "of the countries of the sea", which he does twice.<sup>6</sup> Ramesses III of course does not describe them as they did not attack him, but he describes the captured chiefs of both the Sherden and the Teresh as being "of the sea",<sup>7</sup> which Merneptah did not.

Further, besides reporting the onslaught of these marauders Merneptah also tells us that he caused certain people "to take grain in ships to keep alive that land of Kheta (the Hittites)".<sup>8</sup> Thus, the Egyptian records tell of a famine about 1219 B.C. which was evidently more than usually disastrous and of the migration of a number of tribes, including the Teresh, and a number of others some of whom in due time clearly settled in Sardinia and Sicily, and certain Achaeans.

<sup>1</sup> Ramesses III included the picture of the captive chief of the Teresh with those of the chiefs of the Hittites, Amorites, Zakkal, Sherden, Shekelesh and Peleset-Philistines (Breasted, op. cit. IV, §129). He did not include it with those of the Libyans and Meshwesh (op. cit. §114).

<sup>2</sup> He does, however, name the Sherden, but not the Teresh, in the Harris Papyrus, Breasted, op. cit. IV, §403.

<sup>3</sup> The idea has lasted on into the present century, as for example Breasted, op. cit. III, §570; Schachermeyr, op. cit. pp. 48, 49, 75, 76 and cf. his article in *Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer* (1957) p. 126. Cf. also Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (1955) p. 56. But Schachermeyr, op. cit. p. 125, thinks that the Teresh and Aḳaiwash at any rate came from the Aegean area.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, op. cit. III, §§574, 579, 588, 601.

<sup>5</sup> The difficulty is that they are said to have been circumcised (Breasted, op. cit. III, §588). It was on account of this that their hands were cut off instead of their phalli as was done to other people. It is to be noted that the Teresh and Shekelesh also had their hands cut off, though no reason is given in their cases (Id., loc. cit.). The meaning of the very rare word *ḫrnt* has been much discussed, but there can hardly be any doubt that in Merneptah's time at any rate it meant "foreskin" (Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit. p. 14, note 24a; p. 15, notes 6-30), a thing which the Aḳaiwash are said to have been without. Piles of hands, no phalli, are counted at Ramesses III's triumph over the Sea Peoples. Only Philistines are shown in the picture. Nothing about any of this is said in the texts (Nelson, *Medinet Habu* I, Pl. 42).

<sup>6</sup> Breasted, op. cit. III, §§588, 601.

<sup>7</sup> Id., op. cit. IV, §129. More than a hundred years before this Ramesses II had described an entirely different confederacy as being of "all countries from the ends of the sea" (Breasted, op. cit. III, §309). This was at the Battle of Kadesh, c. 1285 B.C.

<sup>8</sup> Breasted, op. cit. III, §580.

Merneptah's statement about the famine in Asia Minor is not the only information we have about it, for it is now well known from Hittite sources. It was only shortly before Merneptah's action in his fifth year<sup>1</sup> that the Hittite king had written to the king of Ugarit (Ras Shamra on the north Syrian coast) wanting him as an ally against two dangers. These were famine and an enemy. The request was addressed to a certain Ammurabi who was reigning during the last years of Ramesses II, Merneptah's predecessor,<sup>2</sup> and at the very time that In-n-Teresh was living in Egypt near the Fayyum.

Back at Boğazköy, the Hittite capital, we hear in elaborate detail of the long-continued attacks of a certain Attarššiyaš the Aḥḥiyan and of the frightful ruin, starvation and mass movements of the populace which these entailed.<sup>3</sup> This was almost certainly in Lydia, for the name of Attarššiyaš' victim, Madduwattaš, is of a similar construction to those of the Lydian kings Alyattes and Sadyattes.<sup>4</sup> The action took place round about Arzawa, as will appear in the next paragraphs. Arzawa is now known almost certainly to have lain round about the Maeander River,<sup>5</sup> and, therefore, in southern Lydia. All this was happening in the time of Tudkhaliyas IV, who was the father of the writer of the account, and who according to the latest estimate was reigning from c. 1250 to 1220 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Tudkhaliyas IV was, therefore, contemporary with or a few years earlier than Merneptah's sending of corn.

Although so well known the relevant passage is appended here : "Attarššiyaš the Aḥḥiyan drove thee, Madduwattaš, away out of thy land. Thereupon, he also yet pursued thee and persecuted thee and willed thy, Madduwattaš', [evil] death, and would also have killed thee. Then fleddest thou, Madduwattaš, to the father of the Sun (the Sun being the reigning Hittite king), and the father of the Sun saved thee from death and warded off Attarššiyaš from thee. Otherwise Attarššiyaš would not have desisted from thee and would have killed thee. Just as the father of the Sun had warded off Attarššiyaš from thee, then the

<sup>1</sup> Id., op. cit. III, §§595, 598.

<sup>2</sup> Virolleaud in *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscc. et belles lettres* 1955, pp. 75, 76. Cf. also Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III, p. 175, who also notes that it is contemporary with the sword bearing Merneptah's name which was found at Ugarit. M. Virolleaud supposes that the letter came from Egypt. But in the ordinary way the Pharaoh never called himself "the Sun", as does the writer of this letter. It was, however, the usual title of the Hittite kings, and it was the Hittites who were threatened with famine, not Egypt. The letter, therefore, must have come from the Hittite king, as Schaeffer says.

The subordinate Syrian kings writing to the Pharaoh in cuneiform did quite often, however, address him as "the Sun" (Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln* II, p. 1511, Index, sv. *šamšu* (2)), a habit no doubt due to Hittite influence. At times they also used his real title "Son of the Sun" (Id., loc. cit. s.v. *šamšu* (1) *mār ilu šamaš*).

<sup>3</sup> A. Götz, *Madduwattaš* pp. 3 ff. (*M.V.Ae.G.* XXXII (1927), Heft 1).

<sup>4</sup> Id., op. cit. p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Mellaart in *Anatolian Studies* V (1955), pp. 82 f. Two of its cities were Apasa-Ephesus and Pariana-Priene, the latter of which lies at the mouth of the Maeander River and the former is not far away to the north, Cornelius in *Revue hittite et asianique* XVI (1958), p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Gurney, *The Hittites* (2nd edn.) pp. 51 ff., and p. 216 for the date.

father of the Sun received thee, Madduwattaš, together with thy women, thy children, thy troops and thy chariot-warriors and gave thee chariots ---, corn and seed-corn, everything in abundance, and he gave thee also beer and wine, malt and malt-bread, rennet and cheese, everything in abundance. And the father of the Sun preserved thee, Madduwattaš, in life together with thy women, thy [children] and thy troops when you were hungry. And the father of the Sun saved thee from the sword of Attarššiyaš. The father of the Sun rescued thee, Madduwattaš, together with thy women thy [children] thy servants and together with thy troops and chariot-warriors, for otherwise would the dogs have devoured you from hunger. If you had escaped with your life from Attarššiyaš, you would have died of hunger.”<sup>1</sup>

But this was not all, for the turmoil was continuous. Not only had all this been done to Madduwattaš, but he had also had his army annihilated by the Arzawans and he had “fled alone” and “his women, children, his prisoners and slaves had made off to the rocks”.<sup>2</sup> However, Madduwattaš himself was far from blameless, for later on he “took the whole land of Arzawa”<sup>3</sup> and the neighbouring land of Ḫapalla as well.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the wrack and ruin was widespread and continuous over a number of years, though whether for eighteen such as Herodotus reports, or for how long, we are not told.

Thus, we have ample evidence of disasters and famine in western Asia Minor in or near Lydia in the latter half of the 13th century, of movements of the people and of the migration of the Teresh and others at that time. This must surely be the famine of which Herodotus says that it caused the emigration of the Tyrsenoi-Etruscans from Lydia. In other words, it is practically proof that the Teresh were Etruscans and that Etruscans had fled to Italy in the 13th century and, probably, as Ramesses III's records seem to suggest, also again in the 12th century; that is to say some five hundred years before the 8th or 7th centuries, which is the earliest time at which we have been able to recognize anything “Etruscan”. The sudden cessation of trade between Taranto and the Aegean in the time of Ramesses III, which is noted in the second paragraph further on, also shows that there was some interruption at that time.

While there is plenty of contemporary archaeological evidence for the oriental colonisation about the 13th and 12th centuries of Sicily and the Lipari Islands, though mostly Mycenaean,<sup>5</sup> that for Etruria is only now

<sup>1</sup> A. Götze, loc. cit., from whose German translation the above is Englished.

<sup>2</sup> Id., op. cit. p. 13, ll. 46 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Id., op. cit. p. 25, l. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Id., op. cit. p. 33, l. 56.

<sup>5</sup> B. Brea, *Sicily before the Greeks*, *passim* especially pp. 149 ff. There had been trade with the Aegean from the sixteenth century onwards, pp. 108, 115, 125 ff. There had also been some very early influence originally from Troy, Evans in *Antiquity XXX* (1956), pp. 80-93. See also Lord William Taylour, *Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas* pp. 7-80 and map p. 192. No Mycenaean pottery has so far been found north of Ischia off Naples, p. 9.



beginning to appear. Populonia proves to have been an important place in the connection between Etruria and the East.<sup>1</sup> There weapons have been found which were influenced by the Mycenaean swords and daggers from Sicily. The dagger has analogies in the Gargano Peninsula, at Taranto and near Salerno, and the weapon from Taranto can be dated to the earliest phase of Mycenaean IIIc, *c.* 1230–1200 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The Populonia dagger also shows characteristics of a sword from Enkomi in Cyprus of the late 13th or early 12th centuries B.C.,<sup>3</sup> and it and the Gargano sword are especially comparable to another from there which cannot be later than the end of the 13th century.<sup>4</sup> The Populonia tombs also contained weapons comparable to those from the Talish region between the Caucasus and the Caspian,<sup>5</sup> and the Hittite and Sherden swords at the Battle of Kadesh (*c.* 1285 B.C.) may well prove to have been the prototype of these swords.<sup>6</sup> Yet again, a series of small chamber tombs near the sea at Populonia dating to the 10th century find their nearest analogy in those at Assarlik on the Halicarnassus Peninsula in Caria.<sup>7</sup> A dagger has been found near Leghorn which is of a type well known in the above-mentioned Talish.<sup>8</sup>

Elsewhere, on the western coast of Italy, lugged axes have been found at such places as Pozzuoli, Rome and Civita Vecchia. These are of a general type which was ancient and widespread in central Asia Minor, and of the particular type which was cast at Troy almost certainly in the VIIb city,<sup>9</sup> and therefore in the period 1240–1100 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Again, on the east coast of Italy at least, the double looped spiral ornament of Transcaucasia, Troy and elsewhere in Asia arrived on the Gargano Peninsula

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the early archaeology of Populonia see Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* pp. 122 ff. On p. 202 he expresses surprise that there was no iron in the older graves in spite of their nearness to the iron-producing country, especially Elba. But does not that merely show that the graves were of the Bronze Age Period?

<sup>2</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* XXII (1956), pp. 127 f., 135. On pp. 132 f. an Italian sword is mentioned which is comparable to a group of unfinished swords at Ras Shamra-Ugarit, which dates from before 1360 B.C. Unfortunately the provenance of the Italian sword is unknown. For the Mycenaean pottery found in all this area of Italy, see Taylour, *op. cit.* pp. 81–169 and map p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.* p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, *op. cit.* p. 135. On p. 140 the author says that all this influence at Populonia seems to have come up from Sicily, resulting no doubt from attacks by the Sea Peoples of the 12th century.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, pp. 137, 140.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop in *Iraq* XV (1953), p. 79. The type also spread to Sicily, Sardinia and much further afield. A map on p. 70 shows the Asiatic areas where lugged axes were used. For the mould from Troy, see Blegen and others, *Troy* IV, p. 144, referring to Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* p. 405, fig. 406. Lord William Taylour says (p. 173) that the type was specially developed in the Terre-mare of the Po Valley, and another such mould has recently been found at Mycenae. The type would no doubt have travelled up the east coast from Taranto where a single example has been found.

<sup>10</sup> Blegen and others, *op. cit.* p. 147.

and in Picenum further to the north.<sup>1</sup> A cup was found at Scoglio del Tonno (Taranto) with a handle which is very common in Troy particularly in the later phase of Troy VI.<sup>2</sup> It is surely significant for our argument that trade between Taranto and the Aegean stopped about 1150 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Does not this imply that peaceful trade was interrupted by incursions of the Sea Peoples whom Ramesses III had diverted from Egypt in c. 1165, 1162 and 1159 B.C.?

In fact Mrs. Maxwell Hyslop sums up the results of one of her studies as that it is becoming more and more evident that eastern Mediterranean influences in Italy began as early as the 12th century. She goes on to say that "It is as early as the 11th to 10th centuries that one should look for the first groups of Etruscans arriving in Etruria from the eastern Mediterranean".<sup>4</sup> Thus, it is satisfactory that it is coming to be appreciated that Etruscans were arriving early in Italy, but this latter estimate seems to be setting the date too low. In view of the Egyptian evidence the first arrivals would have come in the late 13th century and certainly in the mid-12th century. This brings us back to the beginning of the Etruscan system of *saecula* which, as has already been seen on p. 199, must have been at about this time or a little later. It was also suggested that its inception would have been the result of some such occurrence as the arrival of bands of Etruscans or, perhaps more probably, of their consolidation into some sort of a state.

It has already become evident that like the Sea Peoples themselves these "Etruscans" would have been of very mixed origin. But among them the Teresh prove to have been sufficiently important to have imposed their name as that by which the immigrants were known.

Populonia has already appeared as an early and important site with connections with Asia Minor, and it was also one of the Etruscan cities which sent forces to the assistance of Aeneas.<sup>5</sup> On his arrival in Italy Aeneas found Turnus whose family was already long established there, his ancestress, Danaë, having arrived four generations earlier. His very name is Lydian in origin, for it is accepted as being a form of the well-known Greek word *τύραννος*,<sup>6</sup> as is Turan the Etruscan name of Venus.<sup>7</sup> The Lydian word not only gave the Greeks their word *τύραννος*<sup>8</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop in op. cit. p. 78 and fig. 2, p. 69. Double spirals are very ancient in eastern and north-eastern Asia Minor, dating as they do from the first half of the third millennium B.C., Lamb in *Anatolian Studies* IV (1954), p. 30 and p. 25, fig. 2, nos. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Taylour, op. cit. p. 173. The Trojan horned handle of Taranto becomes assimilated, whereas the Mycenaean painted ware, though copied, remained an alien tradition (Trump in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* XXIV (1958), p. 187. For occasional Trojan connections here and elsewhere, see Taylour, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Trump, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Id., in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* XXII (1956), pp. 141, 142.

<sup>5</sup> Aeneid X, 172.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Turnus*, col. 1409.

<sup>7</sup> Herbig, *Kleinasiatisch-etruskische Namensgleichungen* p. 28 (*Sitzungsb. K. Bayerischen Ak. Wiss., Phil. hist. Klasse* 1914, Abhandl. 2).

<sup>8</sup> G. Radet, *La Lydie et le monde grecque* (1893) pp. 146, 147. W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1905) p. 471, would see in it a Phrygian root, but Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*

also the Philistines their word *sērānīm* "the lords of the Philistines".<sup>1</sup> Turnus' ancestry is taken back to Inachus and Acrisius kings of Argos and Mycenae.<sup>2</sup> Acrisius' daughter was Danaë and she came to Italy where she married Pilumnus,<sup>3</sup> and Pilumnus was great-great-grandfather of Turnus.<sup>4</sup> But according to Greek tradition Danaë was the ancestress of those Danaans who founded Mycenae and possessed Tiryns.<sup>5</sup> So, through her we are brought back to the Danaans who in some way cannot be other than the Danuna of the Tell el Amarna Letters, c. 1375 B.C., the Dainiuna who accompanied the Philistines, Teresh and the rest in their attack on Ramesses III in 1162 B.C., and the Dananiyim who were settled in Cilicia in the latter part of the 9th century B.C.<sup>6</sup>

Turnus' remote origin from Mycenae and the Argolid also brings us back to the Akaiwash, who had accompanied the Teresh on their first attack upon Egypt. That was in 1219 B.C. in Merneptah's fifth year. As has already been said, the Akaiwash are generally accepted as being Achaeans of some sort, and Attarššiyaš, who caused the trouble back in the neighbourhood of Lydia, was an Ahhiyan and is, therefore, also supposed by many to have been an Achaean. Certainly the above-mentioned dagger and pottery of the early Mycenaean IIIc age, and, therefore, dating to about 1230-1200 B.C., have been found at least near Taranto on the west coast of the heel of Italy.<sup>7</sup>

The Greeks were only interested in that part of the commotions in Asia Minor in which their ancestors had taken part, and that was the Trojan War. That proves to have been only one episode in what we now know to have been a long drawn-out period of wars, disasters, migrations and so forth. We have, therefore, only to understand "Troy" as western Asia Minor at the time of the Trojan War to realise that so much of this is enshrined in the romance of Aeneas, his escape from Troy carrying his old father Anchises, his wanderings to many lands and final settlement in Italy. This surely can be no mere invention, for if it had been, surely the inventors would have named some famous personality on the winning side, Odysseus, for example, who wandered widely in the Mediterranean. On the contrary, the hero is one of the conquered Trojans. Also, the story is no late invention of Virgil, for it had evidently been known at the Etruscan city of Veii for nearly five hundred years before his time. Here there has been found a whole series of little terra

*étymologique* (1923) p. 992, considers this conjectural. But in any case Phrygia borders on Lydia. J. L. Myres, *Who were the Greeks?* (1930) p. 118, returns to the old correlation with *κοίρανος*, equating both words with the Hittite *kuirvanaš*. For a study of this latter word see Götze, *Madduwattaš* pp. 140-2 (*M.V.Ā.G.* XXXII (1927), Heft III).

<sup>1</sup> R. A. S. Macalister, *The Philistines* p. 79; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. *Philistines* p. 845.

<sup>2</sup> Aeneid VII, 371, 372.

<sup>3</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, op. cit. *Danaë*, cols. 2084, 2086.

<sup>4</sup> Aeneid X, 619.

<sup>5</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, loc. cit. col. 2084.

<sup>6</sup> Barnett in *Iraq* X (1948), p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* XXII (1956), pp. 127 f.

cotta statuettes showing Aeneas with his old father on his shoulder, and they date to the early 5th century B.C.<sup>1</sup> The most recent studies now place the Fall of Troy VIIa about 1240 or perhaps 1230 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> which is during the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV and at the time of Attarššiyaš' oppression of the lands in the neighbourhood of Lydia. It is also the time that In-n-Teresh had made a home for himself in Egypt, and only some twenty or ten years before the Teresh fled away to the west, joined the Libyans and appeared in force in Egypt against Merneptah. This mention of the Fall of Troy refers us back to the mould for the lugged axe which was found in the rebuilt city, Troy VIIb, and the axes of this type which have been found on the west coast of Italy.

In fact we have the tradition that one of the peoples accompanying the Teresh came from "Troy".<sup>3</sup> This was the Meshwesh, who, like the Teresh, joined with the Libyans in their attack on Merneptah from the west, and like them were newcomers on the Egyptian scene. They can hardly be other than the Maxyes,<sup>4</sup> who, as Herodotus reports (iv, 191), claimed that their ancestors came from Troy. The Maxyes were living west of the River Triton, hence somewhere in the neighbourhood of Carthage whither Aeneas also wandered.

Much evidence has thus accumulated for a movement in the 13th and 12th centuries of people from Lydia, and among these migrants were the Teresh who evidently in due time became a main stratum of the Etruscans of history. Certainly Merneptah's information shows that this would have been so. The Teresh make a pair with the Shekelesh who must have given their name to Sicily, and of this group the Teresh were at that time by far the more important part. Thus, Merneptah carried off more than three times as many men and hands from the Teresh as he did from the Shekelesh.<sup>5</sup> It was suggested (p. 200, cf. p. 205 *supra*) that the apparent unimportance of the Teresh in the attack on Ramesses III might have been due to the diversion of their energies to settling in Italy.

In view of all this it cannot be doubted that the Teresh were indeed the people whose name we later know as the Tyrsenoi-Tursci-Etruscans; that they were driven out of Asia Minor by the turmoil known to the

<sup>1</sup> Picard in *Rev. arch.* XXI (1944), pp. 154 ff. and fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> G. L. Huxley, *Mycenaean Decline and the Homeric Catalogue of Ships* in *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin* 3 (London, 1956), pp. 25, 27 and table facing p. 30. This is also the date at which Blegen has arrived in 1958 (*Troy* IV, p. 12). It is Troy VIIa that is now accepted as the Homeric city.

<sup>3</sup> Like the Teresh the Meshwesh are first heard of under Ramesses II. He had some Meshwesh in his army, A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, p. 120\*, where an account of these people will be found. They were repulsed again by Ramesses III in both his First and Second Libyan Wars, where the Teresh are not named.

<sup>4</sup> As originally proposed by Brugsch, *op. cit.* pp. 80, 81, and regularly accepted since.

<sup>5</sup> The Karnak inscription gives Teresh 742 men and 790 hands; Shekelesh 222 men and 250 hands (Breasted, *op. cit.* III, §588). These figures are confirmed by the Athribis stela which gives Teresh 722 + x men and Shekelesh 200 men but does not mention the hands (§601). These northerners were only a small proportion of the Libyan host, for it was 6,359 phalli that Merneptah cut off from the Libyans (§588), confirmed by the Athribis stela which gives 6,200 + x phalli (§601).

Greeks as the Trojan War, and that they originated from Lydia just as Herodotus says they did.

As already remarked, what we know as "Etruscan" civilisation mostly begins about the latter part of the 8th century, some five hundred years or so later than the time of the Teresh, and it included much that originated in Asia Minor. But unlike the earlier one this later influence did not come from Lydia. It came from the far eastern and northern part of the sub-continent, from Urartu, which centred on Lake Van.<sup>1</sup> As for the route or routes by which these influences passed to the west, Barnett originally thought it would have come overland via Phrygia, but has since come to think that this route would have been impracticable.<sup>2</sup> In this he finds himself in agreement with Blegen in the earlier part of the same symposium (pp. 32-5). However, we now have practical evidence that eastern influence and trade did indeed reach inland Phrygia in the finds of the late 8th century at Gordion in the heart of Anatolia. Here there were three of these cauldrons and two situlae which latter are just like those shown in the reliefs of Sargon at Khorsabad.<sup>3</sup> There was also a possible north-eastern route via the Milesian colony of Trapezus (Trebizond) founded in 757 B.C., and so round by sea.<sup>4</sup> Then slightly later there is evidence for a south-eastern one via the north Syrian ports. About the year 700 B.C. there was a striking change in the earlier orientalising art of Etruria, which until then had been under Hittite-Luristan and Egyptian influences. This change was evidently due to the Assyrian conquest of the Syrian coastlands, for the new influences were Assyrian.<sup>5</sup>

To quote a few examples of these 8th and 7th century influences. The Urartian bronzes that have been found in Etruscan tombs have often been studied,<sup>6</sup> though the tripod candelabrum from Toprak Kale (Van) and its resemblance to similar ones from Italy only seems to have been discussed by Lehmann-Haupt.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the bronze cauldrons have attracted a great deal of attention.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a recent study of the routes by which the influences came and the causes which set them in motion, see, for instance, Maxwell-Hyslop in *Iraq* XVIII (1956), pp. 150 ff. For the history of Urartu, see Sayce in *CAH*. III, pp. 173 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett in *The Aegean and the Near East* (editor S. Weinberg) pp. 226 f.

<sup>3</sup> Young in *AJA*. LXII (1956), pp. 150 ff. and Pls. 25, 26 and Frontispiece; Id. in *Archaeology* XI (1958), pp. 227-231, where coloured pictures are given of the two situlae as well as reproductions of Sargon's sculptures.

<sup>4</sup> Barnett in op. cit. p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Hopkins in *Berytus* XI (1955), pp. 75 ff., especially pp. 82, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop, loc. cit., where references to earlier studies will be found.

<sup>7</sup> *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* II, fig. on p. 483 (= Bossert, *Altanatolien* fig. 1179) and pp. 520 ff. and figs. A similar one, but of iron, was found at Karmir Blur near Erivan, Barnett and Watson in *Iraq* XIV (1952), p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> Amandry discusses at length the export of the Urartian cauldrons to Greece and some extent to Italy and the local imitations in *The Aegean and the Near East* (editor S. Weinberg) pp. 239-261 and Pls. XXIV-XXXII; *Syria* XXXV (1958), pp. 73-109 and Pls. V-VIII. In *Anatolian Studies* VI (1956), pp. 205-213, Hanfmann has a detailed article on *Four Urartian Bulls' Heads*.

A totally different thing which Etruria owed to Urartu and the Urartian area was the art of managing water. All through the 9th and 8th centuries great waterworks had been undertaken in that part of the world. On the frontiers of Urartu Asshur-nasir-pal (884-858 B.C.) dug a huge tunnel through the rock at Negûb (i.e. Tunnel) to bring water from the Greater Zab to Calah.<sup>1</sup> In Urartu itself and about the year 800 B.C. Menuas constructed canals in various parts of the country; the best known of which is the great one at Van which still functions and is now called the Shamiram Su. It is cut in the rock and where necessary is carried through the rock in a tunnel.<sup>2</sup> Back on the Assyrian side of the Urartian border similar works were carried out by Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) to bring water to Nineveh.<sup>3</sup>

Sennacherib again brought water from the borders of Urartu, this time to Arbela. But this was by a different system, for here the water came through an entirely underground tunnel, which had perpendicular adits or wells from the surface by which it could be cleaned.<sup>4</sup> This identical system was in use in Etruria for draining swamps.<sup>5</sup> The Etruscans were also famous for the drains in their cities,<sup>6</sup> just as the city of Nineveh had its sewers.<sup>7</sup> The most famous of the Etruscan ones was of course the cloaca maxima at Rome. This not only carried away sewage, but originally drained and reclaimed the swampy land between the hills of the city.

It is in this very part of Asia Minor, Armenia and the north-east, that Sir Gavin de Beer finds the high percentage of the blood-group A which differentiates the present inhabitants of Central Italy from other Italians. Moreover, within this Italian A-group area there is a smaller one almost exactly covering Etruria where there is a high proportion of B-group blood of the same value as that of the inhabitants of Anatolia.<sup>8</sup> This characteristic, therefore, did not come to Etruria in the 13th and 12th centuries with the Teresh from Lydia, but in the 8th and 7th centuries with the influx of what we know as "Etruscan" and of the Urartian bronzes. It must have been not only an intrusion of some art

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, op. cit. II, pp. 266 ff. and figs.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce in *CAH*, III, p. 175. The tunnel at the sources of the Tigris right in the heart of Urartu, which Shalmaneser II visited in 853 B.C., appears to have been a natural one. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser* Pl. LIX and pp. 30 ff. Cf. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* p. 116 and figs. 62, 63. Lehmann-Haupt has a long description and account of it, op. cit. I, pp. 430-462.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobsen and Seton Lloyd, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan*, especially pp. 46 ff. and Pl. XXXVI, A. There had apparently been an older canal, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Fuad Safar in *Sumer* III (1947), p. 24. This system is still in common use to-day in this area and in Persia where it is called *kahriz*.

<sup>5</sup> A study of such *cuniculi* was made at Bieda in Etruria by Koch and others in *Mitt. K.D. Arch. Inst., Röm. Abt.* XXX (1915), pp. 185 ff.

<sup>6</sup> G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, continually mentions them, see Index, s.v. *Sewers*.

<sup>7</sup> Layard, *Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon* pp. 162, 163.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Gavin de Beer in *Revue des Arts* 1955, p. 146. Unfortunately he does not specify which part of Anatolia.

influences but also of a large movement of population to have altered the blood.

### APPENDIX

It has been seen that there was much Asianic and Mycenaean influence at work in Etruria in early days in which the Teresh-Tursha must have been prominent. But so far none of the things which characterise what we know as the Etruscan civilisation have come to light, and that is natural, for what we know as "Etruscan" civilisation begins in the Orientalising Period of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

However, Etruscan civilisation of historic times did include a number of features which must date from Trojan times and those of the Teresh, some of which are noted below.<sup>1</sup> But at present there is no means of dating the arrival of most of them in Etruria, because traditional history does not go back further than 753 B.C.

The hepatoscopy of the Hittites and Etruscans is well known and need not be elaborated. But the Etruscan augurs also practised the art of divination by the flight of birds, ornithoscopy, another of the Hittite disciplines,<sup>2</sup> and it was already practised by Romulus and Remus.<sup>3</sup> They took the auguries themselves, for [official] augurs did not then exist at Rome. Their college was created by Numa<sup>4</sup> after one had obtained an augury for him in 713 B.C.<sup>5</sup> sanctifying his election to the kingship.<sup>6</sup> That is to say that ornithoscopy and augury had already arrived and were well established before Rome was founded in 753 B.C.

Already by the time of Numa's election the augur carried his lituus. Hence, it had arrived in Italy and was well established there before 713 B.C. The lituus was an ancient royal and priestly implement in Asia Minor, where the curved copper ends of three were found at Alaca<sup>7</sup> and therefore dating to c. 2300-2000 B.C. It is very commonly shown on sculptures of imperial Hittite times,<sup>8</sup> and the latest examples only linger on far away to the east, at Malatya dating from immediately after the fall of the Hittite Empire,<sup>9</sup> and at the neighbouring Ispekçir.<sup>10</sup> Warrior bands and settlers would be likely to bring their soothsayers with them to prescribe fortunate times and places. The lituus, therefore, probably

<sup>1</sup> Schachermeyr, op. cit. pp. 291 ff., lists a number of Asianic details to be observed among the Etruscans, naturally mentioning several of those discussed here.

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. *Augures* p. 550 ; Boissier, *Mantique babylonienne et mantique hittite* pp. 30-8.

<sup>3</sup> Livy I, vii, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Id. IV, iv, 2.

<sup>5</sup> It took place in the third year of the sixteenth Olympiad (Plutarch, *Numa* §1), hence in 713 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Livy I, xviii, 6-10.

<sup>7</sup> Koşay, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük* Pl. CLXXX, nos. 25, 26, 27, Tomb K, p. 167. Its Hittite name was *kalmuṣ*, Sedat Alp in *Belleten* XII (1948), pp. 320-4.

<sup>8</sup> See for instance, H. Bossert, *Altanatolien* figs. 505, 507, 510, 532, 533, 546.

<sup>9</sup> Bossert, op. cit. figs. 771-3, 777-8. The late date given to these on p. 70 is no longer tenable. Akurgal puts them at no earlier than 1050 B.C. (*Remarques stylistiques sur les reliefs de Malatya* p. 115), while Albright argues for a date further back towards 1150 B.C. (Weinberg (editor), *The Aegean and the Near East* pp. 153-5).

<sup>10</sup> Delaporte, *Malatya* I, p. 54.

came to Etruria along with the Teresh and certainly, as has just been said, the augurs who used it were already established there before Numa's time.

Then again, there is the leaden more or less disc-shaped object from Magliano,<sup>1</sup> which must owe its inspiration to the country whence came the Phaistos Disc about 1600 B.C., and that is south-western Asia Minor,<sup>2</sup> though the exact locality has not yet been discovered. Both are inscribed on both sides, and quite unnecessarily the writing goes round and round instead of across. The direction of the writing makes the resemblance still more striking, for in each case it begins at the edge and spirals inwards instead of taking what would seem the more natural course, from the centre outwards.

Yet again, a statuette of an Etruscan Corybant carries a round shield with bosses.<sup>3</sup> Here again the Phaistos Disc is of interest, for it shows round shields with bosses, and they accompany heads<sup>4</sup> which are reminiscent, not of the Teresh it is true, but of the Philistines whose chief appears with theirs in Ramesses III's row of captives. Such shields are also sometimes shown on the Egyptian sculptures of the Sherden.<sup>5</sup>

The Asianic horned helmet, which, however, is admittedly that of the Sherden not of the Teresh, was worn at times in Etruria, where at Chiusi it appears twice in what is clearly a religious festival. Suitably enough the wearers carry the two spears and round shields of the Sea Peoples, though it is true that the others do likewise.<sup>6</sup>

Elsewhere, the excavators express astonishment that certain Etruscan helmets of the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C. so strikingly resemble one that they found at Knossos dating to some thousand years earlier.<sup>7</sup>

The bipennis was known and used in Etruria. Thus, the stela of the late 7th century from Vetulonia shows Aule Feluske so armed, and the axe in the model of an Etruscan fasces is also of this shape.<sup>8</sup> Like

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* No. 5237. It includes the names of gods and records of funerary offerings.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* I, pp. 647 ff. and figs. Until a few years ago no written material had been recorded in south-western Asia Minor. But recently a potsherd has been discovered near Çivril bearing a graffito written in signs "which strongly resemble 'Hittite' hieroglyphs", Mellaart in *Anatolian Studies* V (1955), p. 80, and above, p. 32, no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Reinach in *Revue archéologique* XV (1910), p. 30, fig. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Evans, op. cit. figs. 482, 483 no. 12, 488 nos. A 16, 17, 19, 22, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Nelson and others, *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 72, two figures in the bottom right-hand corner; Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, Pl. 45, though it needs careful study to find them in the much damaged scene. On the other hand, it should be noted that, though Champollion and Rosellini show them in their drawings of the Sherden body-guard, they do not exist in the original (Breasted in *AJSLL* XXIII (1906), p. 4 and fig. 1). This embellishment is the more unfortunate as those pictures are so often republished and are so well known.

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced by Max Müller, *Asien und Europa* p. 378, from Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi* III, Pl. XX. Other participants wear the usual Greek helmet with its huge crest.

<sup>7</sup> Hood and de Jong in *BSA* XLVII (1952), p. 260 and Pls. 50, 51.

<sup>8</sup> Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* Pl. LIX, fig. 1, and the fasces is given on the title page but apparently not in the plates. Pallottino publishes both in his *Etruscologia* (1955) Pls. XXI, XXII. In discussing this stela Maciver says (*Villanovans and Early Etruscans* p. 125) that an iron axe of this form was found at Poggio Pepe.



the stela this fasces also comes from Vetulonia, and suitably enough, for it was from there that Rome derived it.<sup>1</sup> The bipennis is the double axe, often known by its Greek name of *labrys*, which Plutarch says is a Lydian word. Plutarch also gives its legendary history according to which it originally belonged to Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, from whom at last it came to Candaules and formed part of the Lydian regalia. Then in due time it was presented by Gyges to Zeus Labrayndeus of Labranda in Caria.<sup>2</sup> This is largely true, for in Greek story the Amazons represented the Hittites, and at Boğhazköy the young god bears the *labrys*.<sup>3</sup> Schliemann found four of them in the Sixth City of Troy,<sup>4</sup> and under the name ἀμφιπέλεκκον one was used as a weapon by the Trojan Peisander (Il. XIII, 612) just as it was by Aule Feluske in Etruria. The *labrys* was even more prominent in Minoan Crete, so much so that it gave its name, Labyrinth, to the palace at Knossos. At Mycenae it appears in the scene showing the divine figure-of-eight shield falling from the heavens.<sup>5</sup>

The armour of the Roman soldier, known as the *lorica segmentata*, was a highly specialised protection. It consisted of a number of horizontal strips of metal overlapping each other and enclosing the body.<sup>6</sup> In this it is identical with the armour of the Sherden and the Philistines,<sup>7</sup> in which, however, the bands instead of being horizontal were shaped to the ribs. The Roman armour had shoulder straps pinned to the body armour which took the place of the Sea Peoples' short sleeves which were similarly attached.<sup>8</sup> The Romans would have got the *lorica segmentata* from the Etruscans, by whom it was occasionally used as late as the early 4th century, as may be seen on the statue of Mars from Todi.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, there are the *ancilia* of the Salii which were figure-of-eight shields. Sir Arthur Evans has already noted the similarity, and at times identity, of shape between them and the Homeric shields.<sup>10</sup> To his remarks we may add the further similarities that they swung from the "mystic thong" and were suspended from the neck.<sup>11</sup> Even the method of carrying

<sup>1</sup> Silius Italicus VIII, 484, 485.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia* 302 A, 45.

<sup>3</sup> The sculpture has often been published, for instance by Bittel, *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya* Pls. XIII, fig. 44 = XV, fig. 44. More conveniently, though not very clearly, Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* Pl. XXII. But none of the photographs are very distinct.

<sup>4</sup> H. Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer* p. 246, No. 6135.

<sup>5</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae* p. 354, fig. 530; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* p. 277, fig. 281, gives a small black and white reproduction in reverse.

<sup>6</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, op. cit., s.v. *Lorica* p. 1314, fig. 4547.

<sup>7</sup> Nelson and others, *Medinet Habu* I, Pl. 39; or perhaps more easily in H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* fig. 105, p. 212. I find that this has been realised before. On p. 244 of his *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks* A. R. Burn says of the armour "the legionary of the Punic Wars must have borne an astonishing resemblance to the Aegean sea-raider of a thousand years before".

<sup>8</sup> Nelson and others, op. cit. I, Pl. 39 often, especially along the top of the scene.

<sup>9</sup> Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* Pls. CCL, CCLI. It looks as if the bands were made of corrugated metal. Pl. CCLII, fig. 2, shows a sort of combined effect of armour made up of bands composed of large rectangular scales. The recumbent figure on Pl. CCLXXXII, fig. 1, wears a similar corselet.

<sup>10</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minos* III, p. 315, fig. 206, a, b, and fig. 71.

<sup>11</sup> Juvenal II, ll. 125, 126; Lucan, *The Civil War* I, l. 603.

the *ancilia* is thus that of those ancient shields, for they also were suspended by a thong from the neck and shoulder.

In Mycenaean times the figure-of-eight shield had been divinised and one, given the spear, head, feet and flowing hair of the god who is armed with it, is shown descending from heaven to the worshippers.<sup>1</sup> The original *ancile* was thus carrying on the tradition when it fell from heaven to Numa, and this it did in 705 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Hence, although it had so perfectly preserved its Mycenaean features throughout the centuries, the date shows that it was not brought by the Teresh-Tursha in the first wave of oriental influences to arrive in Italy. It came at the time of the Urartian cauldrons and of the Bocchoris tomb, for Bocchoris was reigning 718-702 B.C. The *ancile* was, therefore, part of the second and well-known influx of the Orientalising Period of the 8th and 7th centuries, for that was the age in which Numa was living. It was this influx which produced what we recognise as early Etruscan civilisation.

Thus, the earliest exact date that we have is the traditional one of 753 B.C. when Romulus and Remus were founding Rome. By that time hepatoscopy, ornithoscopy and the practitioners the augurs, all of Hittite origin, were already established in Etruria. The ancient Asianic *lituus* was already in use before 713 B.C. The *ancile* fell to Numa in 705 B.C. Unfortunately these are the only dates we possess. For the rest we can only point out that various ancient things did arrive, but at some time, or at various times, at present unknown. Such are the spiral formation of the Magliano inscription, the Corybant's shield, the horned helmet and another type of helmet, the bipennis or *labrys* and the Roman soldier's *lorica segmentata*. If they did not come with the Teresh and others of the Sea Peoples, they must have preserved their identity in their eastern homelands until such time as they did arrive in Italy.

In conclusion, there may be added the two memories of antiquity retained by the Etruscans which have already been discussed. The first is the carrying of the beginning of their history back to a period some time after the Fall of Troy and the time of the Teresh. The second is their belief of the early 5th century that "Aeneas" had reached Italy from "Troy", otherwise western Asia Minor, soon after the capture of the city.

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<sup>1</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae* p. 354, fig. 530 ; Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 277, fig. 281, gives a small black and white reproduction in reverse. For the little god himself descending from heaven, but without the shield, see Evans, *op. cit.* I, p. 160, fig. 115. His spear and flowing hair are shown.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Numa* §XIII. It fell in his 8th year, hence in 705 B.C. It caused a pestilence to cease.